

in ten thought it acceptable that the U.S. provide support for American military forces in other parts of the hemisphere from Panama bases.

In contrast to widespread doubts expressed in previous years, half the public thought the Panamanian government would be able to manage the canal well when it assumes full control in the year 2000.

OPINION OF THE UNITED STATES REMAINS VERY HIGH

Panamanians have faced a variety of political and economic frustrations since 1989 when General Manuel Noriega was removed from power. These appear to have had little effect on the favorable views most Panamanians have held of the United States.¹ In a September 1994 poll, eight in ten (82%)—across all regional and educational levels—voiced favorable opinions of the United States. Half (47%) expressed “very” favorable views, while just over one in ten (14%) regarded the U.S. unfavorably. On two key U.S. initiatives:

Eight in ten (83%) agreed that the U.S. had “done much to promote democracy” in Panama. Six in ten were in strong agreement, perhaps influenced in part by the successful democratic elections in May.²

A similar majority (82%) also thought that the U.S. had “done much to promote the economic development” of Panama. Again, six in ten agreed strongly with the statement.

MOST JUDGE THE U.S.-PANAMA RELATIONSHIP AS GOOD

A great majority believed that relations between Panama and the United States were good (89%); four in ten (39%) felt they were “very” good. Seven in ten agreed (72%)—and half (48%) “strongly” agreed—that the U.S. treats Panama with “dignity and respect.” (The university-educated were somewhat less likely to agree with this statement than Panamanians with less schooling.)

Public opinion was less favorable on two other aspects of the relationship:

Opinion was split about evenly on whether the U.S. tries to understand the problems facing Panama (44% said it does, 49% said it doesn’t).

A large majority agreed (80%; 58% “strongly”) that the U.S. expects Panama to “give in to its wishes in matters of importance to both countries.” This perception apparently did not influence favorable opinions on other issues, however.

MOST STILL WANT SOME U.S. TROOPS TO REMAIN—

Panamanians continue to want a U.S. military presence in Panama beyond December, 1999, when the Torrijos-Carter Canal Treaties stipulate the withdrawal of all American troops. There has been virtually no change in public attitudes on this issue since 1991: Half the public (50%) said the U.S. should maintain “about the same number of troops it has now,” while a third (35%) said the troop presence should remain in “reduced” form. Just one in ten (10%) preferred that all U.S. troops leave Panama. In general, the less-educated tended to support the status quo, while the university-educated were somewhat more likely to favor a reduced presence.

FOR SECURITY AND EMPLOYMENT REASONS

When those favoring a continued U.S. presence in Panama were asked why they

thought the troops should stay, most mentioned either the security of the canal (46%) or employment opportunities generated by the U.S. base (34%). Political stability was mentioned by only a few (7%).

In addition, when asked if it would be “acceptable” for U.S. troops to remain in Panama for selected purposes, large majorities say yes to the following: to provide security for the canal (87%); to continue the fight against illegal drugs in the region (87%); to provide assistance in times of natural disasters or for refugees in Panama (81%); and to provide support for U.S. military forces in other parts of the hemisphere (64%).

Only the last purpose, “support for U.S. military forces in other parts,” was considered “unacceptable” by significant minorities of the general public (27%) and the university-educated (40%).

CONFIDENCE INCREASES ON GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT OF CANAL

Public confidence in the Panamanian government’s ability to manage the canal when it assumes full control in 2000 appears to have increased in recent years: Half (51%) believed the government would manage the canal at least fairly well, while four in ten (42%) thought it would manage the canal badly. Interestingly, the university-educated were considerably more optimistic about the government’s management capacity than the less-educated (62% to 45%). Polls in 1990 and 1992 had found that large majorities believed the Panamanian government was paying little or no attention to canal-management matters and that it would be best if the U.S. and Panama managed the canal together.

HOW THIS POLL WAS TAKEN

This public opinion survey was commissioned by USIA and conducted by CID-Gallup of Costa Rica. It is based on face-to-face interviews with 1200 adults aged 18 and over in all regions of Panama. Fieldwork took place September 8-18, 1994. Sample construction and fieldwork were performed by CID in accordance with USIA instructions. Questions were written by USIA in consultation with AID and USIS Panama. They were translated by the contractor, with final review by USIA.

The survey sample was selected by a modified probability method, and covered both urban and rural populations. When necessary, respondent selection was adjusted for age, sex, and education to more closely match estimated population profiles.

Ninety-five times out of one hundred, results from samples of this size will yield results which differ by no more than about 3 percentage points in either direction from what would have been obtained were it possible to interview everyone in the population. The comparison of smaller subgroups increases the margin of error. In addition, the practical difficulties of conducting any survey of public opinion may introduce other sources of error.

Additional information on methodology may be obtained from the analyst.

SENATE RESOLUTION 120—ESTABLISHING A SPECIAL COMMITTEE ADMINISTERED BY THE COMMITTEE ON BANKING, HOUSING, AND URBAN AFFAIRS

Mr. D’AMATO (for himself and Mr. DOLE) submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

S. RES. 120

Resolved,

SECTION 1. ESTABLISHMENT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE.

(a) ESTABLISHMENT.—There is established a special committee administered by the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs to be known as the “Special Committee to Investigate Whitewater Development Corporation and Related Matters” (hereafter in this resolution referred to as the “special committee”).

(b) PURPOSES.—The purposes of the special committee are—

(1) to conduct an investigation and public hearings into, and study of, whether improper conduct occurred regarding the way in which White House officials handled documents in the office of White House Deputy Counsel Vincent Foster following his death;

(2) to conduct an investigation and public hearings into, and study of, the following matters developed during, or arising out of, the investigation and public hearings concluded by the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs prior to the adoption of this resolution—

(A) whether any person has improperly handled confidential Resolution Trust Corporation (hereafter in this resolution referred to as the “RTC”) information relating to Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan Association or Whitewater Development Corporation, including whether any person has improperly communicated such information to individuals referenced therein;

(B) whether the White House has engaged in improper contacts with any other agency or department in the Government with regard to confidential RTC information relating to Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan Association or Whitewater Development Corporation;

(C) whether the Department of Justice has improperly handled RTC criminal referrals relating to Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan Association or Whitewater Development Corporation;

(D) whether RTC employees have been improperly importuned, prevented, restrained, or deterred in conducting investigations or making enforcement recommendations relating to Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan Association or Whitewater Development Corporation; and

(E) whether the report issued by the Office of Government Ethics on July 31, 1994, or related transcripts of deposition testimony—

(i) were improperly released to White House officials or others prior to their testimony before the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs pursuant to Senate Resolution 229 (103d Congress); or

(ii) were used to communicate to White House officials or to others confidential RTC information relating to Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan Association or Whitewater Development Corporation;

(3) to conduct an investigation and public hearings into, and study of, all matters that have any tendency to reveal the full facts about—

(A) the operations, solvency, and regulation of Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan Association, and any subsidiary, affiliate, or other entity owned or controlled by Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan Association;

(B) the activities, investments, and tax liability of Whitewater Development Corporation and, as related to Whitewater Development Corporation, of its officers, directors, and shareholders;

(C) the policies and practices of the RTC and the Federal banking agencies (as that term is defined in section 3 of the Federal Deposit Insurance Act) regarding the legal representation of such agencies with respect to Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan Association;

¹ A USIA poll in mid-1990 found that 87 percent approved (77% “strongly”) of the U.S. sending troops to remove Gen. Noriega and 75 percent considered the operation a “liberation” rather than an “invasion.”

² The winner, Perez Balladares, was inaugurated just a week before interviewing for the poll began on September 8.

(D) the handling by the RTC, the Office of Thrift Supervision, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation of civil or administrative actions against parties regarding Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan Association;

(E) the sources of funding and the lending practices of Capital Management Services, Inc., and its supervision and regulation by the Small Business Administration, including any alleged diversion of funds to Whitewater Development Corporation;

(F) the bond underwriting contracts between Arkansas Development Finance Authority and Lasater & Company; and

(G) the lending activities of Perry County Bank, Perryville, Arkansas, in connection with the 1990 Arkansas gubernatorial election;

(4) to make such findings of fact as are warranted and appropriate;

(5) to make such recommendations, including recommendations for legislative, administrative, or other actions, as the special committee may determine to be necessary or desirable; and

(6) to fulfill the constitutional oversight and informational functions of the Congress with respect to the matters described in this section.

SEC. 2. MEMBERSHIP AND ORGANIZATION OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE.

(a) MEMBERSHIP.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The special committee shall consist of—

(A) the members of the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs; and

(B) the chairman and ranking member of the Committee on the Judiciary, or their designees from the Committee on the Judiciary.

(2) SENATE RULE XXV.—For the purpose of paragraph 4 of rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, service of a Senator as the chairman or other member of the special committee shall not be taken into account.

(b) ORGANIZATION OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE.—

(1) CHAIRMAN.—The chairman of the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs shall serve as the chairman of the special committee (hereafter in this resolution referred to as the "chairman").

(2) RANKING MEMBER.—The ranking member of the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs shall serve as the ranking member of the special committee (hereafter in this resolution referred to as the "ranking member").

(3) QUORUM.—A majority of the members of the special committee shall constitute a quorum for the purpose of reporting a matter or recommendation to the Senate. A majority of the members of the special committee, or one-third of the members of the special committee if at least one member of the minority party is present, shall constitute a quorum for the conduct of other business. One member of the special committee shall constitute a quorum for the purpose of taking testimony.

(c) RULES AND PROCEDURES.—Except as otherwise specifically provided in this resolution, the special committee's investigation, study, and hearings shall be governed by the Standing Rules of the Senate and the Rules of Procedure of the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs. The special committee may adopt additional rules or procedures not inconsistent with this resolution or the Standing Rules of the Senate if the chairman and ranking member agree that such additional rules or procedures are necessary to enable the special committee to conduct the investigation, study, and hearings authorized by this resolution. Any such additional rules and proce-

dures shall become effective upon publication in the Congressional Record.

SEC. 3. STAFF OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE.

(a) APPOINTMENTS.—To assist the special committee in the investigation, study, and hearings authorized by this resolution, the chairman and the ranking member each may appoint special committee staff, including consultants.

(b) ASSISTANCE FROM THE SENATE LEGAL COUNSEL.—To assist the special committee in the investigation, study, and hearings authorized by this resolution, the Senate Legal Counsel and the Deputy Senate Legal Counsel shall work with and under the jurisdiction and authority of the special committee.

(c) ASSISTANCE FROM THE COMPTROLLER GENERAL.—The Comptroller General of the United States is requested to provide from the General Accounting Office whatever personnel or other appropriate assistance as may be required by the special committee, or by the chairman or the ranking member.

SEC. 4. PUBLIC ACTIVITIES OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Consistent with the rights of persons subject to investigation and inquiry, the special committee shall make every effort to fulfill the right of the public and the Congress to know the essential facts and implications of the activities of officials of the United States Government and other persons and entities with respect to the matters under investigation and study, as described in section 1.

(b) DUTIES.—In furtherance of the right of the public and the Congress to know, the special committee—

(1) shall hold, as the chairman (in consultation with the ranking member) considers appropriate and in accordance with paragraph 5(b) of rule XXVI of the Standing Rules of the Senate, hearings on specific subjects, subject to consultation and coordination with the independent counsel appointed pursuant to chapter 40 of title 28, United States Code, in Division No. 94-1 (D.C. Cir. August 5, 1994) (hereafter in this resolution referred to as "the independent counsel");

(2) may make interim reports to the Senate as it considers appropriate; and

(3) shall make a final comprehensive public report to the Senate which contains—

(A) a description of all relevant factual determinations; and

(B) recommendations for legislation, if necessary.

SEC. 5. POWERS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The special committee shall do everything necessary and appropriate under the laws and the Constitution of the United States to conduct the investigation, study, and hearings authorized by section 1.

(b) EXERCISE OF AUTHORITY.—The special committee may exercise all of the powers and responsibilities of a committee under rule XXVI of the Standing Rules of the Senate and section 705 of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978, including the following:

(1) SUBPOENA POWERS.—To issue subpoenas or orders for the attendance of witnesses or for the production of documentary or physical evidence before the special committee. A subpoena or order may be authorized by the special committee or by the chairman with the agreement of the ranking member, and may be issued by the chairman or any other member of the special committee designated by the chairman, and may be served by any person designated by the chairman or the authorized member anywhere within or outside of the borders of the United States to the full extent permitted by law. The chairman, or any other member of the special committee, is authorized to administer oaths to any witnesses appearing before the special com-

mittee. If a return on a subpoena or order for the production of documentary or physical evidence is incomplete or accompanied by an objection, the chairman (in consultation with the ranking member) may convene a meeting or hearing to determine the adequacy of the return and to rule on the objection. At a meeting or hearing on such a return, one member of the special committee shall constitute a quorum. The special committee shall not initiate procedures leading to civil or criminal enforcement of a subpoena unless the person or entity to whom the subpoena is directed refuses to produce the required documentary or physical evidence after having been ordered and directed to do so.

(2) COMPENSATION AUTHORITY.—To employ and fix the compensation of such clerical, investigatory, legal, technical, and other assistants as the special committee, or the chairman or the ranking member, considers necessary or appropriate.

(3) MEETINGS.—To sit and act at any time or place during sessions, recesses, and adjournment periods of the Senate.

(4) HEARINGS.—To hold hearings, take testimony under oath, and receive documentary or physical evidence relating to the matters and questions it is authorized to investigate or study. Unless the chairman and the ranking member otherwise agree, the questioning of a witness or a panel of witnesses at a hearing shall be limited to one initial 30-minute turn each for the chairman and the ranking member, or their designees, including majority and minority staff, and thereafter to 10-minute turns by each member of the special committee if 5 or more members are present, and to 15-minute turns by each member of the special committee if fewer than 5 members are present. A member may be permitted further questions of the witness or panel of witnesses, either by using time that another member then present at the hearing has yielded for that purpose during the yielding member's turn, or by using time allotted after all members have been given an opportunity to question the witness or panel of witnesses. At all times, unless the chairman and the ranking member otherwise agree, the questioning shall alternate back and forth between members of the majority party and members of the minority party. In their discretion, the chairman and the ranking member, respectively, may designate majority or minority staff to question a witness or a panel of witnesses at a hearing during time yielded by a member of the chairman's or the ranking member's party then present at the hearing for his or her turn.

(5) TESTIMONY OF WITNESSES.—To require by subpoena or order the attendance, as a witness before the special committee or at a deposition, of any person who may have knowledge or information concerning any of the matters that the special committee is authorized to investigate and study.

(6) IMMUNITY.—To grant a witness immunity under sections 6002 and 6005 of title 18, United States Code, provided that the independent counsel has not informed the special committee in writing that immunizing the witness would interfere with the ability of the independent counsel successfully to prosecute criminal violations. Not later than 10 days before the special committee seeks a Federal court order for a grant of immunity by the special committee, the Senate Legal Counsel shall cause to be delivered to the independent counsel a written request asking the independent counsel promptly to inform the special committee in writing if, in the judgment of the independent counsel, the grant of immunity would interfere with the ability of the independent counsel successfully to prosecute criminal violations. The Senate Legal Counsel's written request of

the independent counsel required by this paragraph shall be in addition to all notice requirements set forth in sections 6002 and 6005 of title 18, United States Code.

(7) **DEPOSITIONS.**—To take depositions and other testimony under oath anywhere within the United States, to issue orders that require witnesses to answer written interrogatories under oath, and to make application for the issuance of letters rogatory. All depositions shall be conducted jointly by majority and minority staff of the special committee. A witness at a deposition shall be examined upon oath administered by a member of the special committee or an individual authorized by local law to administer oaths, and a complete transcription or electronic recording of the deposition shall be made. Questions shall be propounded first by majority staff of the special committee and then by minority staff of the special committee. Any subsequent round of questioning shall proceed in the same order. Objections by the witness as to the form of questions shall be noted for the record. If a witness objects to a question and refuses to answer on the basis of relevance or privilege, the special committee staff may proceed with the deposition, or may, at that time or at a subsequent time, seek a ruling on the objection from the chairman. If the chairman overrules the objection, the chairman may order and direct the witness to answer the question, but the special committee shall not initiate procedures leading to civil or criminal enforcement unless the witness refuses to answer after having been ordered and directed to answer.

(8) **DELEGATIONS TO STAFF.**—To issue commissions and to notice depositions for staff members to examine witnesses and to receive evidence under oath administered by an individual authorized by local law to administer oaths. The special committee, or the chairman with the concurrence of the ranking member, may delegate to designated staff members of the special committee the power to issue deposition notices authorized pursuant to this paragraph.

(9) **INFORMATION FROM OTHER SOURCES.**—To require by subpoena or order—

(A) any department, agency, entity, officer, or employee of the United States Government;

(B) any person or entity purporting to act under color or authority of State or local law; or

(C) any private person, firm, corporation, partnership, or other organization;

to produce for consideration by the special committee or for use as evidence in the investigation, study, or hearings of the special committee, any book, check, canceled check, correspondence, communication, document, financial record, paper, physical evidence, photograph, record, recording, tape, or any other material relating to any of the matters or questions that the special committee is authorized to investigate and study which any such person or entity may possess or control.

(10) **RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE SENATE.**—To make to the Senate any recommendations, by report or resolution, including recommendations for criminal or civil enforcement, which the special committee may consider appropriate with respect to—

(A) the willful failure or refusal of any person to appear before it, or at a deposition, or to answer interrogatories, in compliance with a subpoena or order;

(B) the willful failure or refusal of any person to answer questions or give testimony during the appearance of that person as a witness before the special committee, or at a deposition, or in response to interrogatories; or

(C) the willful failure or refusal of—

(i) any officer or employee of the United States Government;

(ii) any person or entity purporting to act under color or authority of State or local law; or

(iii) any private person, partnership, firm, corporation, or organization; to produce before the special committee, or at a deposition, or at any time or place designated by the committee, any book, check, canceled check, correspondence, communication, document, financial record, paper, physical evidence, photograph, record, recording, tape, or any other material in compliance with any subpoena or order.

(11) **CONSULTANTS.**—To procure the temporary or intermittent services of individual consultants, or organizations thereof.

(12) **OTHER GOVERNMENT PERSONNEL.**—To use, on a reimbursable basis and with the prior consent of the Government department or agency concerned, the services of the personnel of such department or agency.

(13) **OTHER CONGRESSIONAL STAFF.**—To use, with the prior consent of any member of the Senate or the chairman or the ranking member of any other Senate committee or the chairman or ranking member of any subcommittee of any committee of the Senate, the facilities or services of the appropriate members of the staff of such member of the Senate or other Senate committee or subcommittee, whenever the special committee or the chairman or the ranking member considers that such action is necessary or appropriate to enable the special committee to conduct the investigation, study, and hearings authorized by this resolution.

(14) **ACCESS TO INFORMATION AND EVIDENCE.**—To permit any members of the special committee, staff director, counsel, or other staff members or consultants designated by the chairman or the ranking member, access to any data, evidence, information, report, analysis, document, or paper—

(A) that relates to any of the matters or questions that the special committee is authorized to investigate or study under this resolution;

(B) that is in the custody or under the control of any department, agency, entity, officer, or employee of the United States Government, including those which have the power under the laws of the United States to investigate any alleged criminal activities or to prosecute persons charged with crimes against the United States without regard to the jurisdiction or authority of any other Senate committee or subcommittee; and

(C) that will assist the special committee to prepare for or conduct the investigation, study, and hearings authorized by this resolution.

(15) **REPORTS OF VIOLATIONS OF LAW.**—To report possible violations of any law to appropriate Federal, State, or local authorities.

(16) **EXPENDITURES.**—To expend, to the extent that the special committee determines necessary and appropriate, any money made available to the special committee by the Senate to carry out this resolution.

(17) **TAX RETURN INFORMATION.**—To inspect and receive, in accordance with the procedures set forth in sections 6103(f)(3) and 6104(a)(2) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, any tax return or tax return information, held by the Secretary of the Treasury, if access to the particular tax-related information sought is necessary to the ability of the special committee to carry out section 1(b)(3)(B).

SEC. 6. PROTECTION OF CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION.

(a) **NONDISCLOSURE.**—No member of the special committee or the staff of the special committee shall disclose, in whole or in part

or by way of summary, to any person other than another member of the special committee or other staff of the special committee, for any purpose or in connection with any proceeding, judicial or otherwise, any testimony taken, including the names of witnesses testifying, or material presented, in depositions or at closed hearings, or any confidential materials or information, unless authorized by the special committee or the chairman in concurrence with the ranking member.

(b) **STAFF NONDISCLOSURE AGREEMENT.**—All members of the staff of the special committee with access to confidential information within the control of the special committee shall, as a condition of employment, agree in writing to abide by the conditions of this section and any nondisclosure agreement promulgated by the special committee that is consistent with this section.

(c) SANCTIONS.

(1) **MEMBER SANCTIONS.**—The case of any Senator who violates the security procedures of the special committee may be referred to the Select Committee on Ethics of the Senate for investigation and the imposition of sanctions in accordance with the rules of the Senate.

(2) **STAFF SANCTIONS.**—Any member of the staff of the special committee who violates the security procedures of the special committee shall immediately be subject to removal from office or employment with the special committee or such other sanction as may be provided in any rule issued by the special committee consistent with section 2(c).

(d) **STAFF DEFINED.**—For purposes of this section, the term "staff of the special committee" includes—

(1) all employees of the special committee;

(2) all staff designated by the members of the special committee to work on special committee business;

(3) all Senate staff assigned to special committee business pursuant to section 5(b)(13);

(4) all officers and employees of the Office of Senate Legal Counsel who are requested to work on special committee business; and

(5) all detailees and consultants to the special committee.

SEC. 7. RELATION TO OTHER INVESTIGATIONS.

(a) **PURPOSES.**—The purposes of this section are—

(1) to expedite the thorough conduct of the investigation, study, and hearings authorized by this resolution;

(2) to promote efficiency among all the various investigations underway in all branches of the United States Government; and

(3) to engender a high degree of confidence on the part of the public regarding the conduct of such investigation, study, and hearings.

(b) **SPECIAL COMMITTEE ACTIONS.**—To carry out the purposes stated in subsection (a), the special committee is encouraged—

(1) to obtain relevant information concerning the status of the investigation of the independent counsel, to assist in establishing a hearing schedule for the special committee; and

(2) to coordinate, to the extent practicable, the activities of the special committee with the investigation of the independent counsel.

SEC. 8. SALARIES AND EXPENSES.

A sum equal to not more than \$950,000 for the period beginning on the date of adoption of this resolution and ending on February 29, 1996, shall be made available from the contingent fund of the Senate out of the Account for Expenses for Inquiries and Investigations for payment of salaries and other expenses of the special committee under this resolution, which shall include not more

than \$750,000 for the procurement of the services of individual consultants or organizations thereof, in accordance with section 5(b)(11). Payment of expenses shall be disbursed upon vouchers approved by the chairman, except that vouchers shall not be required for the disbursement of salaries paid at an annual rate.

SEC. 9. REPORTS; TERMINATION.

(a) COMPLETION OF DUTIES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The special committee shall make every reasonable effort to complete, not later than February 1, 1996, the investigation, study, and hearings authorized by section 1.

(2) EVALUATION OF PROGRESS.—The special committee shall evaluate the progress and status of the investigation, study, and hearings authorized by section 1 and, not later than January 15, 1996, make recommendations with respect to the authorization of additional funds for a period following February 29, 1996. If the special committee requests the authorization of additional funds for a period following February 29, 1996, the Majority Leader and the Democratic Leader shall meet and determine the appropriate timetable and procedures for the Senate to vote on any such request.

(b) FINAL REPORT.—

(1) SUBMISSION.—The special committee shall promptly submit a final public report to the Senate of the results of the investigation, study, and hearings conducted by the special committee pursuant to this resolution, together with its findings and any recommendations.

(2) CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION.—The final report of the special committee may be accompanied by such confidential annexes as are necessary to protect confidential information.

(3) CONCLUSION OF BUSINESS.—After submission of its final report, the special committee shall promptly conclude its business and close out its affairs.

(c) RECORDS.—Upon the conclusion of the special committee's business and the closing out of its affairs, all records, files, documents, and other materials in the possession, custody, or control of the special committee shall remain under the control of the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

SEC. 10. COMMITTEE JURISDICTION AND RULE XXV.

The jurisdiction of the special committee is granted pursuant to this resolution, notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph 1 of rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate relating to the jurisdiction of the standing committees of the Senate.

SENATE RESOLUTION 121—RELATING TO THE ANGOLA PEACE PROCESS

Mr. FEINGOLD (for himself, Mrs. KASSEBAUM, Mr. HELMS, Mr. PELL, and Mr. SIMON) submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

S. RES. 121

Whereas Angola has suffered one of the most violent and longest-running civil wars;

Whereas the United States was actively engaged in the war in Angola, has provided more than \$200 million in humanitarian assistance to Angola since 1992, and has been a key facilitator on the ongoing peace negotiations;

Whereas Angola is the last civil conflict in southern Africa, and regional leaders including South African President Nelson Mandela consider its resolution to be a top priority;

Whereas an enduring peace in Angola, a potentially wealthy country that is central to regional stability and economic development, is in the national interest of the United States;

Whereas the Government of Angola and National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) entered into the Lusaka Protocol in November 1994 to secure a U.N.-supervised peace settlement;

Whereas the United Nations Security Council voted in February to send a U.N. peacekeeping mission to Angola to monitor and enforce the peace process, and more than 600 international monitors are deployed throughout the country;

Whereas continuing progress toward peace makes it more likely that further deployment of UNAVEM III will occur soon;

Whereas the meeting between President Eduardo dos Santos and Dr. Jonas Savimbi on May 6, 1995, at which both parties reiterated their commitment to the Lusaka Protocol, demonstrated that they possess the essential political will to resolve outstanding issues, and encouraged all who want peace in Angola;

Whereas achieving a lasting peace will require that all Angolans work together to overcome bitter legacies of war, which include a devastated infrastructure, millions of unexploded landmines, a profound distrust between the parties, weakened civil institutions, a crippled economy, and a generation of young Angolans who have never known a peaceful, civil society;

Whereas strong leadership is essential to ensure that the wealth of Angola, long spent on war, now is used to consolidate peace. Now therefore be it

Resolved That the Senate:

(1) Congratulates the people of Angola for the courageous and determined steps their leaders have taken in support of peace;

(2) Urges all parties in Angola to continue to strengthen their commitment to the Lusaka process, which constitutes the last, and best, chance for securing an enduring peace;

(3) Affirms that the United States will hold both Angolan parties responsible for abiding by their commitment to peace; and

(4) Calls upon the international community to remain actively engaged in support of national reconciliation, removal of landmines, economic development, and democratization in Angola.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, today I am introducing a resolution, in conjunction with the distinguished chair of the Subcommittee on African Affairs, as well as the chairman and ranking member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and others, which congratulates the people of Angola for the courageous steps their leaders have taken recently in the name of peace and reconciliation in Angola. This has been an arduous and painful process, but the recent meeting between President dos Santos and Dr. Jonas Savimbi, in addition to the deployment of the U.N. operation, signifies a dramatic breakthrough which may unlock the door to peace in Angola.

As we all know, Angola has been engulfed in civil war ever since its independence from Portugal in 1975. It not only suffered vast dislocation and neglect following the colonial occupation, but also it became a classic superpower playground as Angola struggled to find for its postcolonial identity.

Throughout the 1970's and 1980's South Africa and Zaire launched frequent military incursions in support of the Government of Angola, while mercenaries from Europe and elsewhere helped the rebel forces of UNITA and Dr. Jonas Savimbi fight from the bush. 37,000 Cuban troops supported the government and the MPLA party, and their involvement sparked more independence wars in Namibia. The United States offered covert aid to UNITA in an effort to contain communism in Africa for "national security" purposes. In addition, there were secessionist threats from the northern, oil-rich province of Cabinda, which was, ironically, home to many U.S. oil companies throughout the war.

This war killed over 1 million people, and displaced and disabled millions more. Cities and fields are completely destroyed, and 9 to 20 million unexploded landmines, supplied by outside powers, lace the countryside. Beautiful coastal lands and mineral-rich areas not only lay undeveloped, but have been damaged and destroyed by warfare. Bitter war enmities between the MPLA and UNITA have created long-lasting rifts which will take at least a full generation to heal. Young boys, who from the age of 10 have been armed and fighting, are dislocated from their families. An entire people has never known civil society.

It was with the end of the cold war, the end of the United States-Soviet rivalry, that peace actually had a chance in Angola. When Congress prohibited military aid to Angola, Cuban troops withdrew, and South Africa began to change, negotiations were finally able to begin between the MPLA and UNITA. The peace process of 1991 resulted in the Bicesse accords, and led to elections. But then disputed returns, and militant attacks on the MPLA by Savimbi, destroyed the process.

By 1992, serious negotiations had begun again. Thanks to the relentless efforts of U.N. Special Representative Bedouin Beyh, United States Ambassador to Angola, Edward de Jarnette, and others—including South African Nelson Mandela—the Lusaka accords were finally concluded on November 5, 1994.

The accords secure a U.N. supervised peace settlement, which includes the deployment of 5,600 U.N. peacekeeping troops, as well as 350 military observers and 260 civilian police. It is intended to enable national reconciliation, demilitarization, economic development, and democratization of Angola. It will also enable the continued delivery of massive food lifts, which is keeping hundreds of thousands of people alive as the society builds a peacetime environment.

There have been some glitches in the peace process, and there have been many incidents we thought Angola would not survive. But the peace process made a big step last week when President dos Santos and Dr. Savimbi finally met face-to-face in Lusaka.